2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585 [302] [535]

When they have anointed the bridegroom, they anoint his follower, and last of all they anoint the conductress of ceremonies. When they have again drunk two leaf-cups of beer each, they separate and go home. But from this day until the marriage is finished the young men and girls dance day and night.

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After three days the time for going with the bridegroom comes. The father of the bridegroom then at cock-crow pours out one earthenware pot full of "intimation" beer, and calling the village headman and his deputy, the Jog Mañjhi and his deputy he gives them beer.

While they are drinking, the village headman asks the bridegroom's father: Look here, what beer is this? We do not find the malted grain. "Malted grain" is a metaphorical word, viz., the explanation of the matter, why he has brought them there. The father of the bridegroom then says in reply: Help us to-day to follow the bridegroom, the day fixed has come. The village headman then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Do call the village people together. He sends the Goḍet, who brings all there. They give beer to all. The bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please get hold of five men for me. He brings them, and the bridegroom's father says: Do bring food out for us the bridegroom's party, rice, curry, salt, and five pots of beer; when it is light we shall send forerunners in advance; and at the same time they take along one goat and one pot of beer, three half-seers of rice (if the bride-price is five rupees, then five half-seers of rice), three branches of the root of turmeric, tobacco, salt, and oil in a small earthenware vessel, the last mentioned things are obligatory presents, that is to say, they call them materials for offering to the bongas.

When the forerunners have had food, they take all the things mentioned along in advance. When they reach there, one of them goes to the house where the marriage is to be held. Here also they have set up a marriage-shed and have worked as in the bridegroom's village. The man says: How is it, Sir, we the forerunners have come. The bride's father then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please show them where to stay. The Jog Mañjhi then takes the forerunners to where they have made sheds for the bridegroom's party. He gives them earthenware pots for water and cooking, a flat basket, wooden ladles, firewood, leaf-plates, and leaf-cups; thereupon he returns to the house of marriage.

After they have sent the forerunners off, the people of the bridegroom's village, men and women, go to have "water-marriage". The bridegroom's mother takes a flat basket along. In this there is sun-dried paddy, sun-dried rice, a bunch of dhubi grass, one egg, oil, and sindur and one ball of thread. The wife of the bridegroom's father's younger brother carries a sword, and his paternal aunt carries bow and arrows. Two anointing girls carry on their heads narrow-necked earthenware pots resting on pads of thread, having covered them up with clothes for the bride; these two pots they call omen-pots. A brother-in-law

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585 [601] of the bridegroom they have made best-man[20]; he takes a kodali along, and the Jog Maṅjhi himself takes beer and leaf-cups along. The other people are only onlookers. They who have the flat basket, the sword and the bow and arrows in their hands, go dancing, until they reach the way down to the water. When they arrive there, they dance three times round. At this time the best-man digs a small basin near the water's edge, and making an opening he lets the water come into the small basin. When this is done, the Jog Maṅjhi plants three arrows in three corners of this basin; he winds thread five times round and puts one egg down near one of the arrows. He puts one cowry near each arrow; when he has done this, he applies sindur to the arrows. Thereupon he pours out as a libation one leaf-cup of beer to Maraṅ buru, one leaf-cup to the deceased village headman, and one leaf-cup to Pargana haṛam (the bonga). The remaining beer they drink.

Now the bridegroom's mother, his father's younger brother's wife and his paternal aunt dance three times round the place, and the two anointing girls follow round after these, and after these two all the others there. After this she who has the bow and the arrows in her hand shoots an arrow into the water, and she who has the sword, cuts the water; thereupon the two anointing girls draw water. After this all of them return and go into the marriage-shed.

The Jog Maṅjhi then says to the best-man: As we dug a basin there at the water-fetching place, dig one also here in the courtyard. He does this, and the Jog Maṅjhi plants three arrows at the three corners; on these arrows he winds thread five times round and says: Look here, you two girls, place the two omen-pots here. They do this.

The Jog Maṅjhi now says: Come here you three anointing girls, and take hold of the marriage-shed post. The bridegroom they also bring there. The Jog Maṅjhi ties the left hand little finger of the girls fast to the Mahua post, and gives each of them in their right hand one paddy grain, and from this paddy grain he makes them remove the husk with one hand without breaking it. They do this, and the Jog Maṅjhi looses them. Thereupon he takes a thread five times round from his right ear and to the little toe of his right foot and twists this. Now he calls out to a young man: Do bring some mango leaves, three. When he has done this, he says to him: Now bring three tips of dhubi grass and three sun-dried rice-grain, whole, not broken ones, and wet them a little with turmeric water. The young man brings the three rice-grains that the anointing girls unhusked and the dhubi grass. The Jog Maṅjhi then wraps the rice-grains and the dhubi grass up in the mango leaves and ties it with the thread he has twisted on to the bridegroom's right hand.

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[601] [20] The Santal word is the same which they use for a bashmin (babṛṣ), generally a relative, especially a brother-in-law. When the bridegroom performs the binding act by applying sindur to the forehead of the girl, he rides on the shoulder of this man.

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585 [515] the Jog Mañjhi conducts them to the bridegroom's quarters, taking dancing-drums and kettle-drums along. When they reach there, the Jog Mañjhi says: Bring us our bridegroom. The bridegroom stands up, and the marriage-broker leads him by his hand to the women, who spread out the mat, and makes the bridegroom sit down on it. Three elder sisters[39] of the bride rub the bridegroom in with oil and comb him.

When they have finished this, they take away the mat, place the wooden slab there and make the bridegroom sit down on it; they have brought with them one vessel full of water, and with this water they bathe him. When they have done this, the Jog Mañjhi says: Listen, you, how will the bridegroom throw the "afterbirth"[39] away? The women of the bride's side then give the Jog Mañjhi the loin-cloth and shawl, and he gives it to the bridegroom, who takes this on and covers himself after having taken off his wet clothes. The anointing girls then say: He has thrown the afterbirth away; what shall we boil it in? The bridegroom's party then give them a pot of beer. Carrying this on the head they take it to the Jog Mañjhi's house, and having put it down there they separate.

Thereupon the village headman calls the Jog Mañjhi and the Godet and says to them: Please call all the village people, big and small, together; come along, we shall see the application of sindur. They call them together, and when they have come, they say to the marriage-broker: Make yourselves ready; come along, we shall see the application of sindur. When they have come, the village people say to the Jog Mañjhi and the Godet: Please find and bring some mango leaves, five leaves. They get these. The bridegroom's party are staying in the village street outside the bride's home and are dancing there.

The people of the bride's side then say: Please, you of the bridegroom's party, come all inside. They go inside and are given beer, which they drink. Outside the best-man has taken the bridegroom up to ride on his shoulder. At this moment the marriage-broker says: The younger brother of the bride is crying awfully to get a cloth. The village people then say: Bring him riding on somebody's shoulder. A brother-in-law of the bride then takes him on his shoulder and brings him out. They bring this one and the bridegroom together in the same place; they hand both of them water in a lota and five mango leaves, and they, i. e., all the people of the bridegroom's party, say to them: Now, bridegroom, sprinkle water with the mango leaves on his head three times. And all the people of the bride's side say to the young man: Now, you also, young man, sprinkle three times on the young bridegroom. They both sprinkle on each other. Thereupon they say to the bridegroom: Do put a turban on him. He does this, and they say to him: Now, kiss him. He does this; thereupon they blow chewed rice out of the mouth at each other. Thereupon they put the young man who got the turban down on the ground.

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[39] Women who are, or are counted as sisters. [39] Here fig. about waist clothes that are to be taken off.

Now they say: Please bring the bride. Inside the house they make the bride take on the bridal cloth and make her sit down in a flat basket. The Jog Mąńjhi then says to the bridegroom's party: Honoured bridegroom's party, this one you see here is for you. They carry her out into the village street outside the house to where they have the bridegroom riding on the best-man's shoulder. There they keep her lifted up, opposite to the bridegroom. Between these two the bridegroom's party now hang a cloth as a curtain. The Jog Mąńjhi on the bride's side puts a loṭa with water into the palm of the bride's hand, and the bridegroom's party do the same to the bridegroom and say to him: Now, young man, sprinkle water on her head with a mango leaf, three times. The bride's people also say to her: Now, you also sprinkle water on the bridegroom's head with a mango leaf, three times. They both do this. 585

Thereupon the best-man hands five Sal leaves to the bridegroom; in the uppermost of the leaves he has wrapped up some sindur. The bridegroom's party then say to him: Now remove the covering cloth from the bride's head. He does this, and he keeps the sindur in his left hand above the bride's head. The bridegroom's party say to him: First let a little fall down on the ground. He does this, and they say to him: Now with the little finger of your right hand smear five times on the bride's forehead. When he has done this, they say to him: With your left hand take hold of the bride's neck and plaster all the sindur on her. He does this; then they cry Horibol[30]. [302]

Thereupon the best-man puts the bridegroom down on the ground, and his party say to him: Now take your bride on your hip and down. He does this, and then the bride's elder sister comes and ties together the clothes of bride and bridegroom.

After this the bride's mother and those with her, the three sisters-in-law[31] (wives of brothers), go inside into the house and arrange on a brass-plate a little dhubi grass, a little sun-dried paddy, sun-dried rice, three balls of flour and three balls of cowdung, and turmeric in one leaf-cup, and oil in one leaf-cup they also put on this brass-plate; they come out from the house to the village street outside, where the bride and the bridegroom, and the duenna[32] on the bride's side and the best-man and the follower on the bridegroom's side are. The bride's mother waves the brass-plate three times over the heads of the bride and the bridegroom, of the best-man and the two followers[33]. After this she also three times waves over their heads the dhubi grass, a little of the sun-dried paddy, and of the sun-dried rice that is on the brass-plate; then she scatters the dhubi grass and the paddy and the rice behind their backs. And mixing the oil and turmeric together she smears some on the bridegroom's two cheeks; and he also takes oil and turmeric up from [607]

[30] Horibol, the Bengali form for Haribol, i. e. "call on Hari". [31] The wives of the bride's father (her mother) and of two of his brothers or cousins. [32] The lumti kuṛi or lumti buḍhi, who follows her to her new home and returns when all ceremonies have been performed. As a rule the bride has more than one such follower, generally three, sometimes even five. [33] See Dictionary s. v. sumąuṛa.

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585 the leaf-cup with his hand and in his turn smears some on his mother-in-law's two cheeks. After this the bride's mother does the same to the bride and the best-man and the two followers, and they also in their turn do the same to her. The two wives of the brothers of the bride's father also act in the same way.

[783] Thereupon two of those who performed the waving ceremony go into the house, and one of them takes some glowing embers out in an earthenware lid, and the other one takes a wooden pestle and brings it out to the street outside. They place the lid with the glowing embers before the bride and the bridegroom. The bride's mother then takes the pestle in her right hand and waves it over the lid with the glowing embers, and with her left hand she salutes the glowing embers; thereupon she takes the pestle in her left hand and waves it ceremoniously, and with her right hand she salutes the glowing embers; again she takes the pestle back in her right hand and waves it ceremoniously and salutes the glowing embers with her left hand. Then they give the pestle to her two sisters-in-law. They also both act in the same way, one after the other. Having acted in this way the last one stabs the glowing embers in the earthenware lid to pieces with the pestle and then carries the pestle quickly inside. All this they call "purifying"[34].

Thereupon she who tied the bride and the bridegroom together brings water in a loṭa and washes their feet, and, taking hold of the bride with her left hand, she leads the two into the house; what is left of the water in the loṭa that she has in her right hand, she pours it out, as she goes along, and the best-man and his party follow after the two. When they reach the door, the bride's younger sister blocks the way for them, and if she is unable to do it otherwise, she shuts the door. This they call the "shut door". The bridegroom gives her one anna; then she opens the way for them.

Inside the house they spread mats for them, and bride and bridegroom and their followers sit down on these. Now the anointing girls come and anoint them with oil and turmeric; when they have done this, they wash their hands. Thereupon they give them food. The bride's younger brother forcibly takes the rice from the bridegroom; he gives him one mouthful into his mouth; thereupon they eat together from the same plate. When they have eaten, they again wash them. Thereupon the conductress of ceremonies (they also call her Mrs. Best-man) who tied bride and bridegroom together, unties their clothes that were bound together. Thereupon the bridegroom and the best-man and the young followers go out and into the cowshed.

• [607]

After this the bride's father takes his co-parent-in-law and the marriage-broker and the Jog Mañjhi into the house to drink rice-gruel. The bridegroom's father has, as you know, been fasting since he came away from home. They give them beer and food. They now go out and into the cowshed. The bridegroom's party are staying in the village street outside the house.

[34] See Dictionary s. v. pavitra.

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out mats for them. The bride and bridegroom sit down there and with them the best-man, the follower, the giri conductor, and the duenna also. The anointing girls smear oil and turmeric on them. While they are doing this they sing[58]: 585 [539]

For whom, Father, is the elephant saddled?
For whom, Father, is the Maena-like queen?

For the young prince is the elephant saddled,
For the young prince is the Maena-like queen.

•

You went to the East, my boy, you came from the West;
Where, my boy, did you find, my boy, the Kiṣ flower?

On the other side of seven seas, at the way down to the Ganges river
Father bought the Kiṣ flower.

Now the anointing girls apply sindur to the bride and the bridegroom and their party, all who are sitting there; after having done this they wash their hands. Now they give the bride and the bridegroom rice cooked in milk, and to the others they give rice and curry. At this time the younger sister of the bridegroom forcibly takes rice from the bride; she puts one handful into the bride's mouth; thereupon they both eat their food together. When they have eaten, the anointing girls wash the hands of all. They go out gradually; the bridegroom stays with the brothers of the bride, and the bride with her duenna. [262] [607]

The Jog Mañjhi then calls the bride's brothers. Two boys of the village wash their feet; thereupon the anointing girls pour out water for them. They wash their hands, and the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's brothers: Come along into the house, we shall have some gruel. They go inside; they spread out mats for them, and they sit down. First they give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. They drink this; thereupon the bridegroom's mother herself gives the brothers of the bride food; she makes them eat plentifully to make them pleased. Again the Jog Mañjhi says: Please bring the beer. Again they drink, each two leaf-cups of beer, of the very best. The two boys wash them. Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi takes them to a house open for all. When they have gone there, the Jog Mañjhi calls the bridegroom's party. When they come, they give them beer and food. This they call "dust removing food and beer". All lie down to sleep.

When day dawns the bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please remember the bride's brothers, have they got up or not? The Jog Mañjhi answers: They are up. Then the father of the bridegroom, the bride's brothers, the bride and the bridegroom, the duenna,

[58] In a kind of Bihari.

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IV. WHEN A MARRIED SON LIVES IN THE HOUSE OF HIS FATHER

a. Brothers living together.

Santals do not at once, when getting married, set up separate households; they stay in the house of the man's parents. If a man moves away to live in the house of his father-in-law, they blame him very much, and such a man will not afterwards get any share of the inheritance. Some people will, because they are annoyed beyond sufferance, perform the final funeral ceremonies for such a son. Nowadays a few men will give them a share of the original property; but this is only a favour; formerly they had no right to this. 428 591

Until the father makes his sons set up separate households, they work together, eat together. The parents of the young men look upon their daughters-in-law as their own daughters. Among his sons the father will love the eldest son most, provided he is good, and the mother will love her youngest child most. The young men with their wives honour their uncles and aunts like their own parents, and these look upon them as their own children. 591 593 606 604

The father guides, instructs and tutors his sons, and the mother does the same with her daughters-in-law and daughters. The younger daughters-in-law address the elder daughters-in-law as elder sisters and obey their word like that of their mother-in-law; the elder daughters-in-law address the younger ones, saying "girl" to them, and look upon them as younger sisters. When the parents have lost their strength, the eldest son and the eldest daughter-in-law manage the household, and they have to stand up when the young ones misbehave or commit any fault. If the elder ones while living let the younger ones manage, awful quarrelings arise. The old man mostly scolds his wife if the work and business don't go well, and now and then he will also upbraid his sons, but never his daughters-in-law. Those who really start quarrels, are the mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, and the wives of the brothers, and through their quarrels brothers also become enemies. Santals say: "A mother-in-law, a bitter pumpkin, not tasty"; "a daughter-in-law, plugged ears, they don't hear"; "a daughter-in-law, a python snake, dragging themselves along, they do not move". Of the husbands of daughters they say: "A daughter's husband, crooked firewood, will be still more crooked"; "Another's child, a forest fowl, they will not become one's own". 593 606 607 [539]

An elder brother's wife and the younger brothers and sisters of her husband are great friends; they do not quarrel. Girls tell the wife of their elder brother everything, both 607

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607 good and bad, and the young men speak and laugh much with the wife of their elder brother; no one takes any notice of this.

603 854 855 Old men and their wives love their grandchildren very much; they carry them on their hips, they fondle them, and the wives of brothers also, if they live in peace with each other, carry the children of them all on their hips and fondle them, and when they have fever or are ill, they also nurse each other.

b. Separation of brothers.

428 When the grandchildren become very numerous, or when they do not live in harmony in the house together, the parents separate them. In connexion with the village headman and the village council the father divides the agricultural and other land, the cattle, big and small, all in equal parts, and gives it to them, and he keeps for himself one part, and the son with whom the old couple stays, with him their part will stay. When the parents lose all strength, the sons have to support them, because at the time when the children were unable to support themselves the parents supported them with great hardship. Daughters do not get any share. Generally, at the time when they are married, they give them each one calf. And at the time of separation, if they are spinsters, they give them a calf. And sons, who at the time of separation are bachelors, get a double share of the cattle, one share being for their marriage. The pieces of cattle that daughters-in-law have got from their father and brothers, and from their father-in-law at the time of marriage, these are not divided; but the cattle, that sons-in-law get from their father-in-law at the time of marriage, these are divided.

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551 593 607 We have further belief in various matters. People say: If husband and wife name each other's name, the children become deaf; therefore they do not name each other's name. And if a man and the wife of his younger brother, or a woman and the husband of her younger sister, or the wife of her younger brother name each other's name, they will not, it is told, burn when they are cremated after death; therefore they do not among us name each other's name. Husband and wife call on each other saying, father or mother of so and so child, and when they have not as yet got any children, they call on each other using some general expression[1].

[113]

[1] For a number of details in connection with the customs here mentioned the reader is referred to the writer's paper 'On Taboo and Customs connected therewith among the Santals' in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVII, Part III, 1898.

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(2) A woman and her husband's elder brothers, or husband's father and uncles; and a man and his wife's elder sisters or elder cousin-sisters, and wife's mother and aunt. 582

(3) Non-agnates excluding cross-cousins and (2) above.

Roughly speaking, a Santal may marry into group (3) but not into groups (1) and (2).

Added to these there are the restrictions based on traditional enmity as between the clans *Tudus* and *Besras* and *Kiskus* and *Mārṇḍis* and *vice versa*, marriages between whom are prohibited according to custom. [614]

Relationship taboos

Added to the food and sex-taboos, the Santals have some tabooed relations between whom not only marriage or sexual union must be avoided, but even their close contact is considered as a sin. Thus a husband's elder brother is a taboo to a Santal woman; she cannot even touch him. Wife's elder sister falls within the list; and we learn that during the general sprinkling of water after the *Baha* (flower festival), one cannot throw water on such relations. And Bengali Hindus may learn with some amusement that their joking relations, as between a bride's father and the bridegroom's mother, is transformed 607 • [796] 602

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602 into the tabooed opposite pole, with a corresponding prohibition on the bridegroom's father and the bride's mother (Santali *Bala*).

607 *Relations who can joke with one another*

As the husband's elder brother is the subject of a rigid taboo to a Santal woman, repression in one [601] way leads to a corresponding freedom with the husband's younger brother, who is considered to be a joking relation (*Ḍhàulià*). Dr. Campbell in commenting on *Ḍhàulià Sàgài* (relationship between brother-in-law and sister-in-law) writes, "Great freedom is accorded to these in their intercourse with each other, and what is regarded as criminal intercourse in others is propriety with them." And Mr. Man remarks about, "the alarming familiarities," a lad took with his future sister-in-law at a marriage ceremony he had witnessed.

603 607 Relationships of such a kind, but not of such a degree, subsist between a grand-father and his grand-children, between a woman and her elder sister's husband, among the brothers and sisters of a bride and a bridegroom, between the younger brother of the husband and the sister of his wife and the brothers of both the married couple. The Santal society permits them to crack jokes with one another, to tease and play pranks mutually in the enjoyment of their company.

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796 the grove. A young man then takes on his head the basket, in which the *sal*-flowers have been so nicely piled by the priest, who himself carries a few flowers, the winnowing fan and the pot of water. The jar of holy water is, as before, conveyed by a bachelor.

As the Santals now advance towards their village, the maidens keep ready the ceremonial water-jug, seats of wood, and oil in a wooden box of a small size. The priest's feet are washed by the maidens of the first house. They are offered *sal*-flowers in return. The maidens salute the priest as he pours water on them. This is done in all the houses, till they reach the priest's, when water is poured on his roofs and a liberal offer of rice-beer is made to all present.

Now follows a water-festival on a wide scale. Water is sprinkled on all, as on the occasion of the "Holi" of the Hindus, with the difference that it is not coloured. Men and women, all join in this, except those prohibited by special degrees of relation-
• [607] ship. For, it may be interesting to note, the Santal thinks that his younger brother's wife and his wife's elder sister deserve a great respect from him and so it is not thought proper to throw water on them. The festivities conclude with songs and dances in which the whole village joins, the merry-makers' procession starting from the priest's house and ending with the house of the Headman.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 8 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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535 832 change places and meet mid-way, they catch their hands and clasp them as is done by lovers in real life. And then they touch the various parts of the body and embrace as in a flirtation. These suggestive stolen sexual representations perhaps refer to the easy familiarities that the society sometimes permits between the husband's younger brother and the elder sister-in-law, (Ḍhàulià sàgài) and between the husband and his wife's younger sister. In making this suggestion, we are fortified by the opinion of an educated Santal.

[607]

Ḍabar ènèc'

535 [22] This dance takes place sometimes between the first day after the new moon of "Magh" (Jan.-Feb.) and the full moon of Falgun (Feb.-Mar.), beginning with evenings and ending with mid-nights.

Gay men and women form a circle with their hands entwined, the musicians standing in the centre. One sees the circle taking two steps forwards, and then changing the direction to the left with one step, and next to the right again with a single step. The circle thus moves on and on in the dreamland of a moon-lit night. Men sing and women reply jointly. And so it goes on for about ten minutes. After a short rest, teasing belles sing again. The circles are formed again automatically and the dance proceeds afresh, while the

[533]

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Mare," played with a wealth of detail as noted by Father Elwin in his "The Baiga." The juvenile games, indulged in by Santal children, resulting in sex-contacts and childish coitus are done openly. But, as Santal parents interfere in such games and chide the children while playing sexually, coitus is sometimes secretly indulged in. So it is that some Santals told us that children play sex-games privately and not before public gaze.

We should note that there are further equipments to the phallic knowledge of the Santals other than occasional glimpses of parental coitus or coitus generally seen after the Lagre*n* dances. A well-informed Santal told us that *Gòṛòmbaba*, (the grandfather of Santal children), the *teñae* (brother-in-law) or the Kumañ (father's sister's husband) explain the mysteries of sex to children of four to five years of age with occasional demonstration of process how to indulge in coitus. There are various other ways of initiation. Boys and girls sometimes understand the mysteries on mutual consultation about the supreme fact. Sometimes, old women teach the art to young girls and elder men to inexperienced lads. Even elder women, according to reliable testimony, belonging of course to the *rànḍi* (widow) and *chardi* (divorcee) class, teach the art to boys of 14 and 15. But to sexually inexperienced boys, the *gurn* par excellence is the *bili* (elder brother's wife) with

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whom sexual intimacies are permitted or connived at in Santal customary law. There is a folk-song (quoted later) of the Santals, a Bir Sereñ (song during hunting) in which such a sister-in-law is explaining the mysteries of cohabitation to her novice husband's younger brother. Another song, also referring to intimacies with the elder brother's wife, perhaps records a second stage when the lad has become emboldened:

Koṛa: Dèsè hili ho koṛam toa te,
Tidò hili ho rakap' tiñ me.
Kuṛi: Tidò babu jaiñ rakap' ketamge
Pale babu ja sakòm saḍe tiñ,
Pale babu ja paini saḍe tiñ,
Pale babu ja dadam babu ja
Dadam babu jae dhòra laṅ.
Koṛa: Bàndi huṛu baṅse hili ho
Saika huṛu baṅse hili ho
Dadaiñ hili ho chindoè ñelà ho.

(Translated)

Boy: O, sister-in-law, do please put my hand on your breasts (on the chest) O, sister-in-law (please) raise my hand.

Girl: O boy, I could put your hand on my breasts,
But should my bracelets ring by chance?
If my anklets ring by chance?
If by chance, your brother catches us, O boy!
If by chance, your brother catches us?
(What will happen then?)

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864 Boy: It is not paddy, tied in a cloth,
835 Or paddy stored in baskets, O dear;
539 What will be the sign to know things from?

864 There is, however, no customary initiation into the mysteries of sex, as making the boys "*hunsiar*" noted by Father Elwin in the case of the Baiga, or "Chalak kora" as one hears in Birbhum rural parlance, when boys are said to be sent to fairs to be sexually experienced.

864 Added to all these, there is the undisputed fact
857 that boys and girls are used by young men and women freely in their love-affairs and intrigues as mediums to send presents of *haṇḍia* (rice-beer) to the lover or *ukhra* (fried paddy) or articles of toilet to the beloved. Very frequently, children thus act as go-betweens in adult love-making and become very helpful in the conduct of affairs in hills and jungles, and naturally enough, as they grow up, they (children) get accustomed to love themselves and come to relish the flavour of such adventures.

864 It will be clear from the above, how the sex-
145 instinct is developed in children and, although, in the dawn, the manifestations are more or less unconscious, sexual consciousness is in the way of development as an active factor in the boy or girl's psychic make-up. We questioned a number of Santals as to the average age when sexual consciousness of children develops into a factor to be reckoned

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cing—all these vanish as of no importance on the arrival of the true he-man. 832

We questioned the Santals to find out if the capacity to dance brings in erotic energy. They replied that with long continued dance, the body gets tired and sexual energy is diminished, but in mixed dances with women, they feel gradually more and more invigorated. [535]

At this stage, it may be worth-while to note how does the Santal woo. It was gathered that when a youth sees a maid and she catches his fancy, he speaks about his love to his *bili* (elder brother's wife) or *gòròm* (grand-mother), either real or so by village-courtesy. The women belonging to these grades of relationships are very obliging to assist lads in love, and as go-betweens, they meet the girl in question and inform her of the boy's fascination for her, not forgetting to please her by making presents of hàṇḍia, khòi (fried-rice), clothes or money in the name of the lover. The girl thus won over, she mentions a date and place when her lover may meet her in secret, say in a jungle or on the way or back to a *hat* (market). Even illicit love for a married man is arranged in this manner. Such kinds of love lead mostly to marriages by consent of parents as we have already seen in the chapter on marriage. In Mayurbhanj, at present, about eighty percent of marriages are arranged by parents 584 [607] [603] [839]

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584 and about twenty percent result from love or capture.

593 The average Santal remains madly in love with his wife for about two years after the marriage, thereafter, his ardour cools. With children, the world of reality makes its existence felt.

584 Lead in courtship is also taken by the woman. [607] [603] In such cases she requisitions the services of her obliging sister-in-law or grandmother, who conveys the message of love. The woman does not send presents to win over the man of her choice. Further 833 enquiry regarding the point if lead in coitus is taken by women, revealed that sometimes it happens like that. But should such news leak out, it becomes [558] a subject for jokes and the husband is thought as a worthless fellow, but nothing particular is thought about the girl. The girl who forces her company 554 192 on men or belongs to many husbands is called a "dàri" by the Santals. The boy who likes the company of women rather too much is termed "Hiròm," and a flirt is called "Khilḍu". The licentious fellow, who cohabits with many women is censured as a "Caṇḍal."

152 834 We enquired to find out if the Santals are jealous by nature or not. It transpired that ordinarily the Santals do not suspect anything wrong if their women-folk talk or mix with other men on business or in course of social rounds. But human nature

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experiences of a deeper character amongst the Santals in affairs of the heart and no better illustration than the following folk-song could be found in support of our contention. In this song, a sister-in-law is explaining the nature of love to her husband's younger brother:

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[607].

Koṛa: Pirit, pirit, pirit, hili ho,
Pirit do hili ho, láiñ mase ho.

Kuṛi: Pirit do babu ja bange bugiya
Jaha tinrem uihar lekhan
Uihar lekhan gedò mènt' dak' jòròa.
Harta akat daka babu ja,
Daka babu ja bange jòmòk'
Jaṅha tin rem uihar lekhan laṛa
Akan ub babu ja bange suduk' do
Ahai akat thili babu ja bange dipilò.
Pirit do babu ja, bange bugiya.

(Translated)

Boy: Love, love, love, O sister-in-law!
What is the meaning of the word? Do tell me.

Girl: Love is not a good thing.
When one thinks and thinks of love,
The eyes shed tears and tears.
Before one is food, O boy,
But he finds no relish for meals.

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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Though there is a jocose relationship between them, the elder brother's wife is respected as mother. So also, the elder brother avoids even touching the shadow of the younger brother's wife, not to speak of her being regarded as the property of the elder brother. There is also the custom of sororate, by which a wife's younger sister could be married by the husband. But the wife's sister is generally and almost universally married to another. So it is possible that the identity of the terms of kinship for the father and father's brothers may be explained by the levirate. In such a case the father's brother's wife would be a second mother and so the terms of kinship for the mother and father's brother's wife, would be the same. Besides, the function of the father's elder brother's wife in a joint family system is more or less that of a supervising mother; so this also might explain the identity of the kinship terms.

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(Santal)	Father	... Apum, now also baba.
,,	Father's brother	... (Gongo) Apum (elder), (Hopen) Apum (younger).
,,	Mother	... (Ayo Gongo).
,,	Father's brother's Wife.	... (Gongo) Ayo (elder), (Hopen) Ayo (younger).

But the Santal family though apparently the same in structure of kinship terminology is quite different from the polyandrous Toda family. Comparing the families of these tribes it can be seen clearly that polyandry is not present amongst the Santals. Mr. Craven and the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud have stated in J.A.S.B., Part 3, 1903, pp. 88-90, that fraternal

59 691 171 595 [114]

41 Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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was killing his children with her baleful influence, he convened a panchayat of the village elders and accused his mother of witchcraft. A quarrel in the family followed, when his mother left his protection and went to her sister's residence in the same village. A few days later Malta went to the residence of his maternal aunt for the treatment of his sick child by her husband Juno, who was a doctor amongst the Santals and stayed there for a few days. On the night of occurrence Malta who had fever slept in the same room with his mother, his aunt, his son and the other inmates. But at about midnight Juno, the village doctor was roused from his sleep by certain sounds and he noticed that Malta was standing with a pickaxe in his hand near the bed where his mother and aunt slept. The two women were lying senseless on the bed with bleeding wounds on their heads.[1]

The relation between the elder brother and the younger brother amongst the Santals is very interesting. The elder brother, specially the eldest one, is looked upon as the representative of the father and after his death is the head and governor of the family. For this reason there are in fact some Santals who look upon the wife of the eldest brother as equal to their mother and pay her respect accordingly. Again the elder brother cannot call by name the wife of his younger brother. (This was verified whenever I asked for the genealogical table of the Santals. I noticed that in every case the elder cannot take the name of his younger brother's wife; he asked others to tell her name). The Bakat bahu

1. Amrita Bazar Patrika, 18th May, 1933.

41 Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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593 609 (younger brother's wife) cannot touch the shadow of her husband's elder brother.

614 **Sept and Sub-sept Organisation:** The internal structure of the Santal tribe is singularly complex and elaborate. There are several exogamous divisions called Parishes (septs). Ten names were obtained by me at Dumka, Dumka Damin, Godda, Godda Damin, Jasidhi, and Hazaribagh districts. In Deoghar I got eleven Parishes:

	Sept	Meaning	Sept	Meaning
1.	Hansdha	Wild goose	6. Soren	The constellation Pleiades.
2.	Murmu	Nilgai	7. Tudu	Nil
3.	Kisku	Nil	8. Baske	Nil
4.	Hemrom	Betel Palm	9. Besra	Hawk
5.	Marandi	Sabai grass	10. Chonrey	Lizard

In Deoghar in addition to the above I recorded another sept namely 'Pauria' the meaning of which is Pigeon.

114 614 Edward Garnet Man described in his 'Santhal and Santhalia' the following twelve Parishes of the Santal :

	Sept	Sept
1.	Hanshdha	7. Besera
2.	Murmu	8. Kedoar
3.	Soren	9. Baske
4.	Tudu	10. Marmoring
5.	Marli	11. Bisra
6.	Kisku	12. Hemron

Marli, Besera, Kedoar, and Marmoring—these four Parishes I could not find any where in the Santal Parganas.

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421 562 [177] husbands are strenuously resisted by the Santals, and the fact that the civil courts administer the Hindu laws of succession leads to many cases of tension. In practice, certain rights are conceded to women for "humanitarian" reasons. To daughters who do not marry—a rare but not unknown phenomenon—and to widows, with or without children, the right to maintenance [614] is given. Since the woman on marriage becomes a member of [423] another clan, the succession to land cannot be carried through her.

602 577 Ties of kinship determine standards of behaviour to a great extent. Life in community is an art to be learnt, and the Santal has his own rigid standards of right conduct. The relationship 603 between grandparents and grandchildren is one of deep intimacy and affection, which is no doubt fostered by the necessity for leaving the young children with the grandparents when both parents have to go out to work. The rules governing familiarity 602 and its converse, avoidance, are based on kinship ties. The [607] joking relationship, apart from grandparents and grandchildren, extends to his wife's younger sisters for a man and to her husband's younger brothers and her elder sister's husband for a woman. People within the circle of this relationship can talk freely with one another, indulging in jokes and calling each other names. Conversely, extreme care is called for in relationships which do not fall within this circle. A Santal child must behave with great respect to anyone who belongs to the same [551] generation as his parents. Names are sparingly used between individuals, and relationship terms are the usual form of 593 address. Husband and wife will on no account use each other's 551 names, in distinction from the Hindu taboo, which is enjoined on the wife only. They behave circumspectly towards each 607 other in public. A woman has to carry herself with care before her husband's elder brother. Her dress must at all times be properly arranged in front of him; she cannot sit with her legs dangling over the edge of a bed or the low veranda running round the house, her hair must be arranged, and she does not talk to him at all apart from the necessities of daily life. The 602 rules extend to the finer forms of courtesy. Every Santal knows 576 what is expected of him when he is meeting relatives—whether he has to make a deep obeisance to the ground before the person he has met, or whether he should wait for the other person to greet him first and then acknowledge the greeting by cupping his hands together and raising them towards his chest. A greeting between equals is performed by means of a

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is poured into the hole. The "anointing girls" are tied to the arrows by a thread fastened to their left wrists, and they have to husk a grain of rice in their fingers without breaking it while the bridegroom is shaved and bathed preparatory to being anointed. The anointing ceremony is carried out in the evening by unmarried girls who anoint the assembled company with a mixture of oil and turmeric. The village priest and then his wife are first anointed, after which the remainder of the officials, then the villagers, then the father and mother of the bridegroom, and lastly the bridegroom himself.

A similar ceremony is carried out in the home of the bride, beginning with the "water marriage". The bride is led out in procession from the house to the courtyard holding the hand of her *kili*, or elder brother's wife, and accompanied by two unmarried girls, the "anointing girls". In her right hand the *kili* holds a brass pot full of water which she sprinkles to right and to left. The other girls bear plates in their hands on which there are several leaf cups. One contains a small lamp that has been lit, and others contain turmeric and sun-dried rice and sprigs of *dhubi* grass. The women in the courtyard sing:

[607] •

[539]

Round and about
The guinea fowl flies;
Round and about
The black cow's house.
It fell in the water hole, a golden chain;
It fell in the spring, a silver anklet.
Who picked up the golden chain?
Who has gathered the silver anklet?
Karu[1] picked up the golden chain,
Karu has gathered the silver anklet.[2]

The procession moves round the booth three times, after which the bride is seated under its roof. The anointing follows, and the bride is anointed after the *dhubi* grass has been placed on her head. When the ceremony is over the bride is led back into the house and the older folk dance and sing:

[539]

In whose courtyard has water sprung forth,
Water sprung forth and is now flowing away?
In a Hembrom[3] courtyard has water sprung forth,
Water sprung forth that is now flowing away.[4]

[1] Here the name of the bridegroom is sung.
[2] The clan name of the bride.
[3] See Appendix B, No. 26.
[4] See Appendix B, No. 47.